

FASHION, CITY, PEOPLE

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## ABSTRACT:

The purpose of this thesis is to investigate modern fashion as an urban phenomenon since the 19th century. Through the study of the fashion market and its formation, the intent is to explore how fashion has developed in relation to other structural changes appearing in the city. It will discuss the specific characteristics of the relationship between fashion and the city in regard to other innovations of the modern era, such as technological change and mechanization.

Fashion has always been studied through its dichotomy between the material and the symbolic. In this study, I will look at the factors that helped to shape fashion as an autonomous field of knowledge, as an economic reality, and as an independent profession. I will also investigate its role in the aesthetic realm.

Fashion affected the social and cultural formations appearing during industrialization after the French Revolution, beyond its obvious function in the production and distribution of clothing. In this thesis, I will focus on how, where, and when fashion's influence on social habits and design aesthetics occurred, as well as the consequences of this growing influence in the context of the city. In exploring this issue I will consider not only how cultural and social forms ( i.e. class formation) have affected the fashion market, but also how fashion itself has had an impact on the development of cultural industries such as media.

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## CHAPTER 1. INTRODUCTION : FASHION

Fashion and the city: these two concepts when first linked do not readily suggest a structural connection. How can one describes the relationship between fashion and the city? Furthermore, what aspects of this relationship are relevant to our knowledge about the city? Such questions are necessary to an inquiry about this relationship between fashion and the city. The interest in and difficulty of questionning the role of fashion in the broader context of the city results from the very nature of these two realms, which are infact broad concepts rather than strictly delimited ones.

Fashion has always been thought of as irrational. The city, on the other hand, has often been thought of in a purely rational way .That is to say the city has been viewed as a machine or sum of functions while fashion has been often viewed as the result of the intimate world an individual creator. Nevertheless, fashion serves in the implementation of rational objectives. First of all, fashion is concerned with the process of making clothes, or what is referred to as the fashion industry. in other words , one of the manifestations of fashion in the city concerns the production of clothing and how this type of production has affected the evolution of the city. Surely, this is a dimension of fashion but, it is not the sole characteristic of its relation to the city. the production

of other goods and the process of industrialization had as much impact if not more dramatic and visible one on the city. For instance all the innovations of the 19th century linked to communication participated in the change of the city in the modern era: cars and highways, trains and railways, elevators and high-rise buildings etc. What characterizes more fashion as clothing industry in the context of the city is not solely its method of clothing production but rather its methods of distribution that emerged during the 19th century in parallel to the appearance of the consumption of commodities. If any inquiry is to be made into fashion in the context of the city, it must not be restricted to the clothing production itself.

In fact fashion refers also to other aspects than clothing production. In what follows, I give a broader definition of fashion, highlighting the complexity and scale of the issues involved, including several levels of interpretation which are embodied in my general definition.

In its everyday use, as has already been suggested above, fashion refers to clothing: it calls up the image of its production and distribution in our society. But also the term refers to an aesthetic model or type with which a person may denote his or her social status.

Although these two meanings of the term have been widely used since the 19th century, they do not totally describe the fashion

phenomenon. At still another of interpretation, fashion has a collective and categorial dimension: it refers to a prevailing code or to ways of feeling, thinking or living, which are not based solely on the physical appearance of clothes. It refers to "subcultures" which are themselves linked with behavioral patterns among people. All these meanings are dynamic that is to say they adjust to change in time. Finally, fashion also refers to thing that are durable and stable. It incorporates the notions of convention and imitation as a means of integrating people in a group or country on a macro scale. It refers here to collective ideas in a historical continuity.

Since its emergence in society - fashion come from the french term facon and has been introduced in english during the 12th century- the term fashion has had multiple and ambiguous meanings, balancing between the most concrete facts and the most abstract concept. do we have to question the material aspect of fashion or demonstrate its symbolic one? such a duality has been underlined by early sociologists such as Georg Simmel .In an essay on fashion written in 1904, Simmel emphasizes this duality in describing fashion as a dynamic between imitation and distinction, which was embodied in his time by class categorization or mass production deriving from the new capitalistic economic environment. Consequently the signifiante of fashion is not solely bound up in the clothing

context. Rather, it serves other functions within human lives- social rituals, customs, sexuality etc...

Thus the existence of fashion is not solely bound up to the economic production of goods but covers also the realm of aesthetic creation, which one describes as art or design. Hence, when speaking of fashion it must not strictly be done from the perspective of clothing production as an autonomous entity, free of social input. We have to consider its origin, its relation to our society, and where and how its influence is manifested. Fashion, is far from being a neutral activity. Its effects are less ephemeral in the long term run than we might suppose, because it refers to ideas about our condition and our being. Already fashion has been included as an object of study both in the realm of art history and in studies looking at its sociological or psychological aspects. Often these studies the role of fashion because of its link to the consumer consumption often described as alienating the individual, or because they focus on fashion solely from the point of view of the art of the "Grand-couturier" producing fashion for the happy few. Such considerations reveal the complexity of the phenomenon, nobody knows in fact what to do with this phenomenon.

In fact fashion more than an irrational phenomenon, is a logic which deals with the following aspects:

TIME: When fashion encourages change for its own sake, it causes a reorientation toward the present and the desire for novelty. Fashion is characterized by ephemerality on the one hand. But, on the the other hand, since fashion is a means of imitation and integration , it reinforces stability and durability over time.

SPACE: The notion of fashion is manifest in the idea of group closure, which promotes a sense of belonging. Hence, the improtance of perception and representation in fashion are manifested. Such characteristics as the seduction of fashion participates in the relationship between people: The seduction of the other creates a link promoting a symbolic belonging ( i.e. the yuppies and the gentrification) while it is also a physical reality through its form of distribution- From the department store to the fashion shopping mall.

POWER: power is exercised through fashion by experts who generate, through a form of bureaucracy, norms and the transgression of them. The central characteristic of fashion is to ensure a form of control since that often it has been linked to social elite - the court ,the upper bourgeoisie. It is a form of regularization whose main representant is the fashion designer, who is considered to be an artist.

CULTURE: As an aesthetic form, fashion is oriented towards style and adornment as an expression of the individual self. It



participate to assert the unique individual characteristic. it is a way to deal with life aesthetically. Hence fashion is characterized by individual choice, in contrast with the collective form. It creates a form of cultural status where freedom of decision is central.

ECONOMY: as an industry, fashion is concerned with the production and distribution of clothes. Not only Haute-couture but also ready- to-wear. Furthermore it depends upon all forms of production dealing with appearance such as industrial design. As a result what characterizes fashion is its communicative aspects. as such it is linked with media and information industries.

For the purpose of this study I will restrict this inquiry to the period since the 19th century , that is to say, it will focus on fashion in the modern period and its links with the rise and change of the modern city. In justification of this point of departure for modern fashion, a brief examination of its history will follow which will reveal the evolution and point out some theme with which this study will be concerned. Notably it will reveal how this phenomenon gained its independence as an autonomous realm of cultural and economic activity. The rise of fashion as an autonomous realm was made possible as the consequence of two pervasive social changes. The first was the attempt to industrialize the textile market during

the late 18th century and the 19th century. The second resulted from societal transformations which followed the French Revolution. These two changes participated in the weakening and disappearance of guilds that had ruled the textile trade market in the prerevolutionary era. As a result a clothing industry could emerge that led to fashion industry. Fashion could spread when the courts lost their monopoly on dictating changes in fashion. If we refer to France as the place of origin of modern fashion, it is because the conjunction of the two events described above made possible the rise of fashion as a profession with its own sphere of knowledge and technical base and whose development has been more dramatic than in other Western countries equally or more industrially advanced. England and especially London became the center of male fashion (since the late 18th century with Beau Brummel) and later in the 19th century the United States became the center of ready-to-wear fashion. Nevertheless women fashion in haute couture was centered in Paris since the mid 19th century when this city asserted its artistic domination in the Western world.

For the purpose of the inquiry I will then focus on Paris as this one became the object of dramatic transformation, notably under the action of Baron Haussmann and the creation of the grands boulevards. The appearance of new urban forms resulted from the collusion of the political will and the commercial dynamism into which fashion and luxury trades played a

significant role. The creation of new commercial facilities to house the fashion products contributed to the physical transformation of the city and had repercussions on people perception of their environment. From this point of view fashion as much as other innovations (trains, cars, elevators, electricity...) contributed to reshape the identity of the modern city.

The exploration of the effect of fashion in its modern form is linked to how industrialization processes affected fashion and in return how fashion itself affected the creative effort of a market society. I will look how fashion driven by the necessity of change and novelty are the result of the emergence of fashion industry which later permeated the whole society. The new culture developing around fashion played a role in the formation of new social structures. Notably fashion dynamised the consumption phenomenon with regard to their attitude toward clothing. The impression that everybody could gain access to luxury goods developed. Not only the upper class was involved in fashion but also the lower classes developed a desire for fashion consumption as opposed to second hand clothing or domestic clothing.

The desire for fashion consumption followed the development of new activities in urban society, especially activities linked to appearance in public spaces - the theater, the boulevard, the

department stores, etc. These urban activities revolved around recreation and leisure that were taking an increasing role in the city life. As such the role of culture in the social formation of 19th century in addition to the role of culture in the city's transformations were significant in the rise of fashion market. The perception of the city evolved in the mind of people. With the increasing role of the visual experience the city became the stage of a continuous "mise en scene" by its inhabitants. In this context fashion fixed the role of the individual whether to mark it social ( i.e the woman), economic (the bourgeois) or cultural (the dandy) status.

Finally fashion as an individual expression of the self marked the development of autonomous communication system in correlation with the development of fashion distribution and consumption in the city. Fashion as a media calls into question the role of art and culture in the modern urban society. The fashion designer gained an authority and autonomy of creation with the implementation of fashion industry ( i.e. C.F. Worth the first grand couturier opened his fashion house in 1857 in Paris). the sacralization of the grand couturier as an artist resulted from its pionnerization in using advertising (fashion magazine, use of models, photography, etc.) methods of promotion that took the city as a field of intervention. As a result fashion combining economic and aesthetic spheres became central to the formation of modern urban culture. Hence the inquiry will

attempt to frame the extent of fashion influence in the fabrication of modern culture between high art and mass culture.

## CHAPTER 2 THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN FASHION, CLOTHING, AND TEXTILE INDUSTRIES DURING THE 19TH CENTURY.

Clothing is the common illustration of fashion; fashion in clothing relates to economic aspects of the textile industry. By the end of the 18th century, a change in the nature of the textile production greatly affected this relationship. the expansion the textile market influenced the method of production as well as the nature of the products. The purpose of this section is to explore the relation of both fashion and clothing with the economic transformations taking place in the textile industry. Furthermore, this section describes the changes in the clothing trades after the French Revolution. It also shows how French society's behavior toward clothing was affected by this change during the 19th century. Finally, it suggests the reasons why Paris became the center of the modern fashion industry.

## 1. THE TEXTILE TRADE AT THE END OF THE 18TH CENTURY.

The french market economy expanded dramatically at the end of 18th century. The role of commercial market activities increased in France as well as in other European countries, and it took on an international dimension. In France, the rise of this external market activity first benefited regional port centers. Parallel to the widening of the market, textile trade and production played a major role in this new economic dynamism; Specialized regional centers of textile production and distribution appeared. Particularly important was the introduction of new materials such as cotton in this specialization. Those new centers developed and increased their power within the market, especially in Northern France. Nevertheless, the actual industrialization process had not yet begun. For instance, the mechanization process emerging in england in the 18th century appeared much later in France. In the 18th century, France was characterized by a trade economy rather than by an industrial one. According to Mr leon (1) , in the French textile industry, only four groups realized 42.9% of the entire fabric production, and 60% of the production of printed fabric was based around Paris and northeast France. Except for Lyon, where a textile production based on silk had been developed in the 16th century, these new centers, where cotton was used, preceded the industrialization of France.

At that time, the textile industry played a dominant role in the economy. Textile production also increased its international domination. Existing important port centers such as Bordeaux and Marseilles developed trade with overseas territories.

Meanwhile, centers of textile production developed their own networks of commercial distribution within national as well as international territories. Mr Leon (2) stresses the conjunction of these different trends in France in the late 18th century as follows:

A clear correlation occurred between a progressive formation toward a national space, and the diffusion of commercial areas across the oceans and expansive foreign zones.

Among these commercial developments at the end of the Ancien Regime the textile sector became the most important part of the economy, with the exception of agriculture.

Nevertheless the textile industry was affected by the agricultural crisis of the 19th century. Throughout the 18th century and into the 19th century, textile production remained linked to the movements and crises altering agricultural production. A comparison (3) of the production curves of agriculture and of other goods points out the influence of agricultural difficulties on other sectors. Since the process of industrialization had not yet been established, various sectors of the economy were affected by the agricultural vicissitudes. Thus, "the crisis of the vital product", namely bread,, had a



great impact on the overall economy. This was particularly true for textile production, which was closely linked to the rural world.

Workers of textile production also were involved in agricultural production. Textile production was spread out through the countryside and involved mainly rural laborers, who worked at home during the agricultural 'off season". The increase in textile production following the growth of the national market, and the opening of the international market, dramatically changed the organization of work in the textile industry, and led to the emergence of three distinct groups of laborers: the rural laborer, the skilled urban laborer, and the unskilled urban laborer.

The number of rural laborers multiplied, since the techniques of cloth production were relatively easy to manipulate and could be implemented at home. Concurrently, the "compagnons" were formed, mainly in towns and cities; they were the "reservoir" of guilds and trade companies ruling the textile market. Because the guilds were the ones ruling the textile trade and their power was mainly implemented in the towns and cities, they were the ones controlling the training of the professional textile world. These guilds had enforced their laws for the textile trade in cities and towns since the 17th century, in order to ensure a continual supply of skilled workers. In addition to

these two groups, a third category of workers appeared: urban unskilled workers, those who left the countryside because of the agricultural crisis. Between the workers (rural laborers and urban laborers) involved in textile trade, increasing differences developed, eventually separating them. Antagonism appeared already in the late 18th century as textile production became less and less manageable by the existing powers (namely the guilds and royal administrators).

For instance, inspectors of the royal manufacturing firms had more and more difficulty gathering information about the reality of textile production. They observed increasing problems in the trade, as a result of changes in the organization of textile production. One inspector's view suggests the deteriorating state of supervision:

The spirit of insubordination is spreading, the rules are unknown, numerous items escaped to the "bureau de marque", in the statements and inventories, the quantities can not be evaluated.

This situation resulted from administrative and financial structures that were poorly adjusted to social and economic transformations. A. De Tocqueville (4) points out:

Not only is labor subject to the inconvenience of trade companies, guilds... it is liable to be affected by every whim of the government, that is to say, of the council in great matters, of the intendant for small ones. The latter is constantly giving directions about the length of woof, the kind of thread to use, the patterns to prefer, errors to avoid.

The booming market accelerated this evolution. The existing controlling structure was no longer effective. More important, an informal market regularization was initiated, driven by

various emerging intermediary professions. These new professions appeared at first in the countryside where the "marchand-fabricants", small merchants and others developed a parallel, informal market underlying the official one recognized by the guilds and trade companies. altering the relationship between the quality and prices of the product, they created a counter power to the guilds' order- (i.e.) the actual extension of monarchy and church power.

The guilds and trade companies were themselves numerous and enforced strict control over each professional category involved in textile production. They had several prerogatives. For instance, they ruled employment in order to curb the proliferation of rural or unskilled urban workers. Apprenticeship began at an early age and its length varied depending on the sectors ( i.e. 3 years in drapery, 5 years in silk). Strict rules were enforced through legal contracts or through edicts and decrees. They somehow generated an aristocracy among textile workers. For instance, "compagnons" and specialized workers had a higher status than unskilled or rural laborers. In spite of poor living conditions, this "aristocratic" order ensured the loyalty of workers, particularly in towns and cities, where many workers " belonged" to "compagnonship". As the guilds enforced in detail the content of each professional category, the urban textile market ended up being extremely fragmented.

With the development of rural laborers and the emergence of unskilled urban workers in cities, this aristocratic order could not maintain itself in power. Textile production divided itself into rural and urban, skilled and unskilled, leading to various and conflicting interests. This division affected the whole textile production process. First, it delayed the introduction of technology in the textile production process. Second, the quality of fabrics produced varied, as the parallel rural market could not maintain the quality standards upheld by the guilds. As William Reddy (5) points out, under the guilds' rules, the "merchant-negociants" or "merchant-fabricants" were not allowed to choose the property and quality of the product.

Finally, the guilds' rules on the textile industry made it impossible for any complex textile product such as clothing to become an autonomous product, because each professional body was forced to perform within the limits of its own activity - limits that were determined by the guilds. For instance, a merchant could not cut clothes or make fabrics, and a tailor or "fripiier" could not stock more than a limited amount of fabrics of the same kind. In addition, their practices were so controlled that it prevented any clothing industry from emerging. For instance, the status of the "couturier" in 1675 describes the right and duty of the "maitresse-couturiere" very rigidly:

Les maitresse couturières, seront tenues de faire  
bien les ouvrages commandés ou non commandés, le

tout bien coupé et cousu, de bonne étoffe, bien et fidèlement garni et étoffé. De bien mettre, appliquer et enjoliver ce qu'il conviendra pour leur perfection, le tout à poil droit, fils fleurs, figures, sous peine d'amendes...et pour empêcher les fraudes, les jurees seront tenues d'aller en visite aux moins deux fois l'année chez toutes les maitresses et leur sera payé dix sols par chaque maitresse, pour chaque visite...

Whether speaking of fabrics or clothing, a large scale production which required distinctive tasks with clearly defined and successive activities, was not possible. For clothing especially, production was bound to the relationship between the user and the tailor, "maitresse-couturiere", and "marchandes-de mode". these professions were among the most ancient and the most protected in the textile trading activity; they were also the most prosperous and numerous ones in the 18th century. Tailors. "maitresses-couturieres" and "marchandes de mode were the only ones allowed to cut, produce and sell clothes, and they were eager to preserve their privileges. Otherwise clothes were produced and consumed mainly by the same individual within the domestic environment at that time (women produced for her or her family); and if people bought clothes it was second-hand clothes sold by the fripier. Thus, the professional production of clothes addressed a unique, privileged part of the society, the one that could pay for the service of these skilled workers, that is to say the court aristocrats.

As the production of luxury garments was contained essentially in the aristocratic world, it was there that fashion

spread. Fashion was actually defined by the aristocrat consumer, the professional was just the provider of basic products for aristocrats' world. The notion of what was good, beautiful and tasteful was limited to personal relationships among people of a unique and closed world. The objectives of fashion were then addressing the representation of individual features in relation to an homogeneous collectivity. The novels written by Fanny Burney a women author of late 18th century in england are quite descriptive of the ongoing social behavior of aristocrats toward fashion. She herself was a Londonre and part of the upper society. In the novel Cecilia, a scene describes the role of fashion at that time.

"Nay if you do not admire mr meadows", cried he.  
"You must not whisper it to the winds" "Is  
he then admirable" " O,  
he is now in the height of fashionable favor, his  
attention is courted, and his notice envied"  
"Are you not laughing ?"  
"No indeed: his privileges are much more  
extensive than I mentioned: His decision fixes  
the exact limits between what is vulgar and what  
is elegant, his praise gives reputation, and a  
word of him in public confers fashion" And by  
what wonderful powers has he acquired such  
influence?" "By nothing but a happy art in  
catching the reiginig foible of the times"  
Chapter " A Man of Ton".

In France fashion was linked to political world as an expression of the aristocracy position in the society. it was linked to luxurious demonstration criticized by the thinkers of that time such as J.J.Rousseau in his work Le contrat social:

On fait tout pour s'enrichir, mais c'est pour  
être considéré qu'on veut être riche... Cela se  
prouve par l'usage ridicule que les riches font  
de leur biens. Ce ne sont pas eux qui jouissent

de leurs profusions et elles ne sont faites que pour attirer les regards et l'admiration des autres. Il assez evident que le désir de se distinguer est la seule source du luxe de magnificence.

From "Fragments Politiques"

Fashion was judged as the equal of other intellectual activity such as literature and art as well as an affirmation and demonstration of political power.

Fashion was itself closely connected with social elite, but it was not so much a means to designate social and economic status, as it was an individualized aesthetic. Fashion involved individuals who were beyond any for social and economic status- The aristocrats being at the top of society. Rather, fashion launched by individuals was a medium through which their own personal values could be distinguished; that is to say, it expressed ideals pointing out particularities of the individual in contrast to his/her own social body. At this point, fashion, referring to an aesthetic model, was opposed to the common practice of simply wearing clothing. In clothing, the large majority of the population followed customs within regional or professional bodies characteristics. Hence fashion was situated at the periphery of the social world ( that is to say addressing a small portion of the society).

The practice of fashion limited to the aristocratic world was strenghtened in France, because of the major role played by the

guilds' rules. Nevertheless, as G.Lipowetsky (6) explains "marchandes de modes" more than tailors or modistes enjoyed some recognition, because of their close relationship with the court system. An artistic "aura" radiated around them. Numerous letters of the court aristocrats referred to them as artists or architects of clothing. But the guild system prevented any centralization of decision making in the hand of one individual; as a result fashion in clothing developed essentially as an art of expression outside of the textile industry context. And economically, if the expenditures of the court were high, it was essentially because they were justified as artistic expression.

During 18th century this luxury consumption at court, as mentioned Williams (7) was competed by new high bourgeoisie. the very composition changed significantly and altered this closed consumption. For instance, the proportion of the bourgeoisie increased considerably ( it represented around 10% of the population). this bourgeoisie worked mainly in cities rather than in the countryside. Cities and towns began to offer a concentration of goods, especially luxury goods, addressing the needs of this growing consumer category. In this context fashion as a way for them to gain access to the superior aristocratic model. The example of "The Bourgeois Gentleman" of Moliere is characteristic. The central character tries to imitate the style of life, the way of dressing, and the behavior of the court. It was at that time judged ridiculous, since fashion was not a



common rule. By the end of the 18th century a reciprocal influence between both style of life was initiated. Aristocracy and bourgeoisie grew more and more similar, especially in their patterns of consumption. And cities became the common environment where consumption was generated.

Changes in production, distribution and consumption in the textile trades appeared after the Revolution. Clothing and fashion production and consumption were greatly affected by these changes. First The Revolution changed the nature of the leadership of society. In fact the Revolution transformed the political and institutional structures. The impact was dramatic on both economic and financial worlds as well as on the role of individuals in society. social and economic differences among people became increasingly perceived, because the society was no longer organized in distinct worlds apart. The people had to meet in the common space of the city. Hence external forms of consumption addressing the whole society developed parallel to the industrialization process.

In conclusion, during the 18th century the textile industry and fashion remained two different realms, because a developed clothing industry was not possible. During the prerevolutionary period, fashion was mainly restricted to the court system, since clothing was a luxury good. Changes within the production of textile had difficulty establishing itself, since the ancien Regime and guild system stunted its development. An independent clothing production was not possible because the guild system protected tailors and modistes who addressed needs of the court and, since the late 18th century the upper bourgeoisie. Meanwhile the textile production showed some changes in the nature of fabrics with the appearance of different qualities and prices for cloths as a result of a growing textile market. This change in the nature of the textile product itself was certainly influencing the consumption of fabrics. But it was not sufficient to generate a real textile industry since no uniform rules existed and the textile market was fragmented within the cities and between rural and urban worlds. Finally the attitude toward clothing was different between the court ( or upper bourgeoisie) and the rest of the population. For the major part of the population clothing was a basic good (as opposed to a luxury consumption good).

## 2. THE NEW SCENE FOR TEXTILE AND CLOTHING DEVELOPMENT.

Before the Revolution the guilds were publicly linked to the old regime; the guild system disappeared with the reforms implemented by the revolutionar Assembly. For instance, the rights of "traite" were abolished in 1790. The "Maitrise" and "Jurandes" were suppressed with the law of 2-17 March 1791. Finally the Lechapelier law abolished the groups of professionals and compagnons. Previously all these laws restricted the trade freedom. A new legal environment was implemented and a set of laws was created the same years. For instance, the creation of a "patente" tax and the legislation referred as the "brevet d'invention" as well as the law for weight and measure uniformized the trade and industrial activities. Their objectives was to provide a general context for every professions. This change in laws generated new potentials for the economy; it created incentives for textile production and distribution processes as well as for the organization of work as textile trade was the larger sector of the economy.

Since the 15th century, clothing production was submitted to detailed regulation, for instance, there were edicts preventing

the copying of fabrics, accessories, and forms of noble clothing; new laws abolished such practices. Clothing was itself the object of an article claiming the principle for every body the democratic access to the freedom of clothing . even if old edicts were not applied rigidly since the 18th century, this kind of article has to be read at a symbolic level. the freedom of consumption was emphasized. In this way the Revolution fundamentally changed people's behavior toward clothing, since every body could yet wear the same type of clothing.

Concerning the professional world of clothing production, the change in laws affected the specialized workers - i.e. the tailor and modiste practices. Previous laws that forbidden the storage of fabrics in advance and the production of textile goods in advance dissapeared. Laws restricting the scope of work of clothing profession were no longer enforced; thus , these professions could diversify their activities. Even spatially the work was no longer bound to the tailor workshop unit. Hence spatially the work was no longer bound to the tailor workshop unit. Hence on the one hand the new jurisdictional context gave impetus to the entrepreneurial control within the French industry and trade; on the other hand everybody had opportunities for using its creativity as an exchange value whether in technical or artistic fields.

The government intervention became different after the

Revolution. From a rigid but inefficient order under the monarchy, the government's competence shifted and became concerned with general issues. It began to withdraw its attention from details to focus on and manage the overall production and distribution of wealth. As the entrepreneurial function became the dominant actor of the economy, the government no longer needed to regulate every technical decision, commercial choice and relationship between professions. Those matters fell within the sphere of the individual citizen. The only form of government control that remained was over the creation of large corporations; it was necessary to acquire specific authorization signed by the king or the government in place. This law was finally abolished in 1867. Few authorizations were granted, in part because of the fear that such corporations aroused. The potential power they could gain over the economy. However lawyers found means to override this law through the use of "societe en commandite" based on bonds. From 1882 to 1836, 1106 "societes in commandites" were created among which textile manufacturers were numerous. The role of the government in matter of support to the economy was primarily to sustain everyone's access to goods as well as to boost entrepreneurial's activity in the industry and trade sectors.

The change in regulations and in government spheres led to the development of textile production. The introduction of new

tools and techniques was then justified. Among the transformations that changed the textile production the ones that changed the nature of the fabrics were determinant for consumption. The introduction of new techniques improved the properties and qualities of fabrics. For instance, it became possible to mix fibers (cotton with wool) when the weaving phase of the wool was mechanized; new fiber resistances and fabric standards resulted; newly created dyes widened the choice of qualities. Mechanization of textile production increased and, consequently the cost dropped, eventually affecting the market price of fabrics. Transformations in the nature of fabrics influenced the evolution of clothing which became more related to the industrial evolution. The very nature of clothing changed. For instance, the unification of local standards allowed the production of clothing and suits in the same range of qualities; the growing diversity of fabrics generated a variety in qualities and prices for clothing for clothing. this impact was found on men's clothing as well as on women's; however it initiallt affected men clothing because of the existing uniformization in its aspects, whether for lower or upper classes (i.e. dark suit).

Nevertheless the process of industrialization was slow to emerge; it altered somehow textile production and clothing evolution. One might suppose that contributed to the spreading of the idea of industrialization and consumption was not so much

explained by the process of mechanization and concentration of work in a unique space. The "figure" of the worker took shape in the early 19th century. Although he was characterized by a disqualification of work and a depreciated standard of living this was not due to the actual industrialization, but rather related to the paradigm by which the work was organized. In fact, after Napoleon was deposed in 1815, the entrepreneur appeared to be the dominant figure of the 19th century; however, he was not always particularly innovative concerning the introduction of new techniques. For instance, the mechanized loom, the machine jenny were known since 1796 because of the implementation in England but were only introduced within the French system of textile production after 1815. Often this delayed introduction of mechanization was not only due to the prerevolutionary socio-economic structure, but also to the entrepreneur skepticism toward this investment. In France, the entrepreneur chose to maximize profits through maintaining low wage policy for the workers rather than increasing productivity (that such technical advances could provide).

Another reason for the delay of the introduction of technology and its concrete implementation in production process results from the government intervention. The "brevet d'invention" for new techniques such as sewing machines were bought by the government. In the case of the machine Avery, the government withdrew the machine from market distribution. The government

anticipated the reaction of tailors and tailors employees, who feared that the introduction of such tools could altered their professional future. They were afraid to loose their qualifications or that other professions could take their place. According to the 1791's law on the "brevet d'invention" which would correspond to patent English law, the free use of the technique was in the hand of the holder for a limted period. By buying the "brevet", the French government delayed the introduction of the technique in the market until the expiration of the brevet/patent. Such actions explain why major innovations were not always responsible for the evolution of the industry. Whether one speaks of the government's or the entrepreneur's action the intervention was often based on misconceptions of the industrialization process.

Furthermore the labor itself was not considered as a commodity independent from its product. Hence as W. Reddy (8) put it, the organization of work was experienced as a "competition between man and machine" rather than a free competition in most cases. Hence, what made the change explicit was not solely the appearance of new production devices but rather other factors such as the way in which the relationship between each new phenomenon was monitored. This competition between man and machine was aggravated by the competition between men, women and children. The women and children were mainly used as unskilled labor -their skills were actually underestimated because of



their status in the society. These skills were considered to be natural rather than based upon an acquired "savoir-faire" and, as such they had no exchange value -e.g. sewing was considered as the natural attribute of a good spouse. The introduction of the sewing machine in the market for clothing and textile during the late 19th century in the market for clothing and textile was an example of competition between human beings and machines. According to the figures of F.Faraut (9) in 1860 about 300 sewing machines were present in the textile labor environment; in 1872 the amount jumped to 24042 once the "brevet" held by the government expired. The majority of these machines were in the worker tailor household; the tailor's wife was the actual user of the machine although she was not paid as an autonomous male worker was.

Another misconception about the nature of change that new devices generated was that the machines were thought to ease the work and to require less skills. thus the work was considered less tiring and the entrepreneurial control could justify the maintenance of low wages not only because the work concept was not considered as an independent exchange value by itself but also because the human input (emotion, tradition...) was not taken into account. As a demonstration of these misconceptions stands the report of Mr Villermé Tableau de l'Etat Physique et Moral des Ouvriers.... In this report the charts by categories of profession show the general patterns adopted in France

concerning the relationship between work, men women and mechanization. In most of cases, where the devices appeared, the proportion of women and children workers increased and wages decreased. Often for existing professions when devices were competing against traditional skills, wages decreased consequently. Comments accompanying the wages charts of north department (Roubaix, Lille, Tourcoing) specialized in cotton production are suggestive:

Quant aux brodeuse aux crochets, leur état est perdu, leur broderies qui coutaient 60 a 75c par colet se fait aujourd'hui pour 10c, grâce aux metiers Jacquards.

similar observations are found all along the report; they reflect the misconception that work was entirely confused with the production. Moreover, other comments suggest that the use of new devices did not necessarily change the nature of productivity. For instance, when the author observes that the traditional looms were still used in conjunction with mechanized loom the only comment refers to the amount of work in time remaining the same. Consequently it seems that the introduction of new important devices (mechanized looms, sewing machines...) were not necessarily the ones that transformed textile and clothing production. Rather it seems that minor innovations, that were elaborated within manufactures or workshops, had more impacts on the creation of an industrial society since they affected directly the nature of the product and thus the behavior of people: a relevant example is the machine created

and use by the "confectionneur" for cutting clothes patterns. Its impact was dramatic because it changed the nature of clothing; it became possible to cut several suits of the same size simultaneously. Such minor technical discoveries had a major impact on the distribution of clothing and therefore on people's behavior toward clothing as well as on clothing's social meaning.

Another major change after Revolution emerged with the multiplication of professional activities. New categories of professions appeared in textile and clothing production and distribution. From the technician working for textile firms to all professions related to clothing production and distribution, all this multiplicity of activities increased the diversity of the market as well as the diversity of consumers. Because of the variety of products, the fashion conscious merchant appeared soon after the Revolution, in conjunction with trade policies emphasising textile trade "as a business of making clothing and luxury goods available to everybody" (10). The emergence of the textile fashion merchant became justified by this new economic context as well as the growing individual freedom of entrepreneurship. Their ability to choose the quality among all new products proposed increased and reinforced the process of change within the textile market.

Consequently a clothing industry capable to support an autonomous industry could develop. New activities took place in this context. The tailor developed his activity toward one of merchant tailoring. On the other hand drapers began to produce clothing. Later, the manufacture and sale of pre-made clothing developed and the "confectionneur" appeared. The modiste profession previously limited to women became also a male activity. This range of new professions was not confined to the entrepreneurial clothing class. Emerging intermediary classes evolved in commercial activities related to the clothing industry; the "commis", the "demoiselle de magasin" or the employees of the modistes were multiplying. These new kind of professions belonged either to lower class ( employees) or middle class ( independent tailor or modiste). Those professions appearing at all levels of the hierarchy in the textile and clothing industries and trades tried to shape their identities.

Various professions exercising similar activities and searching for identities ended up competing with each other. The very appearance of the "confection" - before confection became a mass-clothing production- disturbed the tailor profession. The tailor perceived "confectionneur" as a strong competitor as they were both addressing men's clothing needs; later on confection specialized on women's clothing. Competition also appeared between men and women as men entered the modist world. Another reason for higher competition resulted from the hope from the

hope for social mobility. The social mobility whether real or not impacted the social and political expectations of these professions. A new hierarchy within the society as well as in textile and clothing production prevailed. Nevertheless the chances to access to a better social status were limited, however in the new fields of clothing and fashion these chances were greater , since those fields were innovative and responded to the general change within the society. For instance, numerous fashion designers such as C.F Worth or department stores directors were firstly shop employees before they created their own business. Otherwise this hope remained symbolic; for instance the low-paid employees of the modiste remained often in their social status as pointed out s some extrcts of contemporary texts suggest:

A part les premières que l'on choisit exclusivement pour leur talent, on a soin de n'admettre dans ces maisons que des jeunes personnes de famille bourgeoise qui, alors paient une pension assez forte et deviennent ainsi un bénéfice... les jeunes ouvrières, jeteés ainsi au milieu de ce luxe factice des grands magasins, ne peuvent que continuer les rêves de leur imagination...

The proximity to the world of consumption was substituted to a real social mobility. Mainly all the protagonists on the account of the spreading textile market in so many activities could only share their common experience toward clothing and fashion goods. consequently the use of external signs such as fashion at first was a means to mark ( to cancel, to differentiate) their social and economic status.

Clothing was then used consciously for appearance and self-presentation by every body. Going back to the observation of Mr Villierme, it is worth looking at how clothing behavior was related to the worker's environment in his survey. The author often refers to the physical aspects through which moral judgment appeared. William Reddy (10) also mentioned that "the link between physical conditions and moral aspects" were parts of the observer discourses during that period of time. The title of Mr Villierme book is in itself quite suggestive: Tableau de l'Etat Physique et Morale des Ouvriers...; the first term in itself "tableau (picture) summarizes the philosophy of the author, when the exterior form was judged as the one which spoke of the truth about the concrete condition of workers. A "tableau" of the physical and moral aspects put the inner and external expression of the self at the same level. As a consequence, the worker's world in itself was not investigated as it was not considered to be a part of the "recognized" culture. Clothing behavior in this context became part of the discourse as some extracts of Villierme's text suggest:

I have seen in those manufactures of "indiennes"...a rather important number of girls and women which clothing, coquetry of manners and expression of the faces betrayed little chastity of morals.

...Regarding those earning better salaries, almost all of them could spare money and hence secure themselves in old ages if their moral standards were better. but the luxury of clothes, the lack of foresight and the taste for expensive pleasures do not allow it.

And further speaking about Lyonnais worker:

Their clothing are of cotton in summer, of drapery in winter, and they wear generally shoes during the year. We noticed several young men wearing boots .I add this detail -that could appear too meticulous- because I have heard many times workers stating this attitude as a sign of some affluence.

...The luxury of their clothes for sundays and closed days leads one to mistake them for being part of the bourgeoisie.

People wanted to look wealthier than they actually were. The democratic consumption of luxury goods followed the new economic structure. In this context the use of clothing was connecting physical needs to spiritual needs; that is to say these needs were based on imitation; the author misinterpreted the worker's attitude in making the produced object the hierarchy itself rather than taking account of people's need for imitation. For him social division and categorization was expressed through the object consumed. Wealth was confused with the value of the object and thus with the person's ability to consume. from this point of view , the object gained an independent life . Instead What was more important was that clothing consumption created a dynamism that somehow succeeded in weakening social differences. The illusion of similarity spread in a first time with the "democratization" of luxury product. Silks ,for instance became available to every consumer. Technological advances allowed the production of cheaper and less fine silk (than the one ,for instance produced in Lyon) but the impression was the same with luxury lyonnais silk- hence to be like an other social category (rather than just consumed the same material object).

The spreading desire for fashion was not only due to economic factors. another influence was that of the conception of the "individuality" rising from the Revolution. after French Revolution inequity of birth was no longer recognized; prestige was less considered as a given, it was to be conquered and challenged. In this respect clothing and fashion cannot be judged only from the point of view of luxury. They rather established a link between what was previously seperated social worlds.

In the 19th century, opinions (whether positive or negative) about fashion and clothing generated by political, religious and moral observers, followed those of the press. According to M. Foucault (11) the conjunction between opinion and the developoment of the press was as follows:

[the observers] they failed to perceive the material and economic components of opinion. They beleived opinion would be inherently just, that it would spread of its own accord, that it would be a democratic surveillance.

However there were more than the material and economic components underlying opinion and leading to a disciplinary judgement . Toward fashion the aesthetic dimension was significant too; it weakened the disciplinary side of the impact as fashion aesthetic relates to personal taste and emotion. The change in status whether political, social or economic did not in itself justified the use of clothing fashion; other factors



such as the autonomous individual who appeared in the aristocratic world during the 18th century later spread to all social classes. The growing role of appearance and self presentation accompanying the phenomenon of fashion could not be neglected anymore.

In conclusion: After the revolution the textile industry and trade diversified; these activities defined a new economic and social environment. Rather than being driven by mechanization which developed slowly, the evolution of textile production was driven by an emerging desire for personal success. Notably the diversification of activities and professions concentrating around clothing and fashion productions were most innovative in nature: for instance "confectionneur" and grand-couturier (fashion designer) evacuated the user input in order to assert their existence as an autonomous profession based on independent sectors of the textile industry. clothing and fashion got defined by these professions. Their advancement was due to their role - i.e. to address social diversity after the French Revolution. As a result they responded to the growing needs of individual's new identity taking shape after the Revolution. Furthermore fashion -a personal behavior- asserted transformations appearing within the individual sphere; that is to say the conscious use of aesthetic dimension for appearance and freedom of consumption that fashion industry dynamized.

### 3. SPATIAL DYNAMICS AND THE TEXTILE AND CLOTHING TRADE INDUSTRIES.

In the 19th century textile and clothing industries created new activities and new techniques as well as the need for new organization of work. These industries generated a need for new forms of spaces and architectures. As a result they established new relationships between industrial space and the environment. From the late 18th century and early part of 19th century, special space for textile production already existed but because of the independence or semi-independence of the textile laborer who often worked at home, space was not specifically designed for textile production and distribution. Furthermore, architectural design and specific organization was delayed because the "cottage" industry used household space and small workshops for the business of manufacture, since the mechanization was slow to take place and the productivity was not the central issue. The factory was not justified or necessary. Nevertheless, the concept of "factory" was already known in France and in England. But in France it was not until 1880 that this concept became a concrete reality. Thus, there were no formalized specific models of industrial architecture. The existing models were either founded in prerevolutionary architecture such as castles or traditional buildings which exploited architectural traits.

Notably the mass production has been long to appear in the textile industry. As W.Reddy (12) mentions, until late 19th century the textile trade was defined by a partial independence of the laborer's work which was found in the industry both "in the spinning mills and in the putting out networks of the countryside". This independence of the worker was also found in all aspects of clothing production.

After 1850 a new organization of production effectively affected the organization of work in the textile industry as well as in the clothing sector. Hence a huge scale factory production was not general; yet echo of a change in textile production is found in early report such as the one of mr. Villerme, already mentioned and published in 1840 (13). In this report the author emphasized the orientation of the production toward the cities' factories that began to attract the labor force. But in fact, until the beginning of the 20th century, the French economy remained characterized by small industrial firms. For instance, around 1900, 85% of the firms existing in France, consisted of 1 to 4 workers (14).

New type of industrial spaces that changed the urban and rural landscapes took shape after the mid-19th century. There were two principal characteristics. the factory was a closed, specialized spaces, distinct and separated from its environment. It did not display the kind of work it housed. On the other hand, factory

spaces were linked to the larger changes affecting the system of production and they resulted in a constant reshaping and reorganization of its territories and buildings. The buildings were flexible and inherently obsolescent ( since they continuously had to adjust the change in production). However, these new types of industrial production spaces which are referred to as the paradigm of the industrialization process, in fact did not apply to all branches of the textile industry during the 19th century, because the textile industry did not develop equally across France. Rather each sector of the textile industry developed its own characteristics.

Most of the textile regions and textile industrial sectors had unique features and variations which resulted in different spatial realities. it is hard to find a general description of the dynamics between the textile industrialization and urbanization. In some cases, such as in Grenoble, a city oriented toward fashion products no specific changes appeared within the city until late in the 19th century. This delay was often because manufacturers continued to distribute work to different contractors in different places. Nord Dauphine provides a different example of how the industrial world adopted a special approach to factory space. There, the manufacturer developed "factory-pensionnat" in a "moral and educational" colaboration with the church. In ardeches, connected to the Lyonnais silk industry, the factories maintained their regional

and domestic architectural characteristics until late in the 19th century in both the urban or rural contexts. In other cases, such as Lille, Roubaix, and Mulhouse that were part of the important north textile centers, there was a direct correlation between industrial dynamism and urban dynamism. This arose since the entrepreneurial system often directly influenced city development: the creation of factories, housing for workers as well as the creation of service facilities. However, it would be inappropriate to generalize these cases to the entire textile production of France.

In this context the appearance of the clothing industry gave impetus to the textile industry because the 19th century fashion no longer addressed the unique audience of the court. Fashion via the clothing industry spread from upper classes downward. As a consequence the consumption of clothing developed together with the implementation of an autonomous clothing industry with two branches: haute-couture and "confection" or ready-to-wear. These two aspects of the clothing industry were tightly bound from the beginning. For instance, the "confectionneur" copied the trend generated by well-known "grand-couturiers" or fashion designers of the time. As H. Vanier (15) suggests, fashion imitation developed in each aspect of the clothing industry from shoes to hat, suits and dresses. The difference between ready-to-wear and haute-couture is that the first produced clothing in advance, at a large scale and at low price; the second produced clothing as

a unique piece of creation ,and at a high price and addressed the upper class. The interaction of those two industries resulted in a variety of textile products, as well as a multiplicity of professional activities involved in the production of goods. Hence, the French textile industry was defined by diverse activities and products rather than by any advance in technology or research to increase productivity in the factory unit .

Clothing mass-production did not appear before 1880 or even the beginning of 20th century. Until then, ready-to-wear clothing, while in existence since 1820's ( for instance la Belle Jardiniere was created in the 1820's and specialized in premade clothing) did not need to be produced in concentrated spaces to develop. As emphasized by Mr.Faraut (16), the tailor's assistant who assembled the different pieces of a suit, performed his work in his home for "confectionneur-wholesalers". Hence, this part of the industry - the most innovative- did not develop in huge workshops nor with the help of mechanization.

In a similar way haute-couture did not develop by following the mainstream of the industrialization process. the fashion house did not need large spaces since its products were unique pieces. in both cases, commercial innovation was more important than any technical innovations (i.e. the technique of making women's clothes did not change dramatically) . As a result both

clothing industries were characterized by their methods of distribution, which aid generate new urban forms. What was important was the process of "marketing" used to promote designing and professional activities as wellas the goods they produced.

For instance , colting was integrated into exhibitions: the ones implemented after the revolution to promote nationally new industries and product; and the Universal Expositions that developed after the mid 19th century to promote industry and technology in an international perspective. The importance of clothing as a main part of the textile industry colud be observed through its evolution within those exhibitions. First the presentation of clothing was coupled with textile fabrics industries. Since 1834, apparels was introduced in those exhibitions. For example, the corset was introduced as an example of innovative industrial product but later the purpose changed; clothes for themselves were displayed notably because of the pressure of the professional bodies involved in the production of clothing. But it was with the the universal exhibitions whether in Paris or London that clothing as an independant industry became recognized and its internationalization spread.First, new technology was displayed such the sewing machine which was introduced at the Universal Exhibition of 1855 in paris. Then in 1862, in london "confection" was introduced with a display of ready-made-



clothing. Later in 1867 in paris all clothing producers were represented. Notably the "industries de l'elegance" and women's fashion were represented. Finally the consecration of fashion itself came with the Exhibition of 1900 where numerous fashion houses displayed their creations in the "pavillon de la Mode". Quite rapidly, fashion as a form of clothing industry adopted a different strategy from the rest of the textile industry; it was not its technology that was important but rather its aesthetic. As a result, it was space for consumption-distribution in fashion industry that defined its appearance rather than its space for production.

Spatially, most women's clothing and fashion production , distribution and consumption, took place in Paris. Since the 18th century Paris already played an increasing role in textile and luxury trade. As stated by Mr Bergeron (17), Paris took a leading role in the economy of France at that period.; especially in the trade of fine and luxury textile goods. Paris became the center of national and international exchange. Through an inventory of bankruptcy statements at the end of the 18th century and the beginning 19th century, the author reveals the importance of Paris as a place of "depotes d'article" and "mixte-societes paris-provinces". These firms were specialized in the national and international distribution of luxury goods. These goods were produced in the province and then sent to Paris to be distributed there to provinces and foreign countries. The

same firms represented all regions in France and particularly those involved in textile trade, such as Lyon which had structured and developed its own independent distribution network. The necessity to belong to the Paris network suggests that Paris was already a center for textile trade professions and tailors, dressmakers, milliners and guilds that were concerned with the luxury trade. Paris benefited from its proximity to Versailles where most of the consumers and the royal aristocracy were living since Louis XIV. Hence, the clothing and fashion professions concentrated in the city where some "marchands de mode", for example Rose Bertin, had already gained some reputation in the time of Marie -Antoinette. All these professions were close to the decision-making power which decided their fate, as mentioned by A. De Toqueville (18):

The parliament located in Paris and Provincial cities, were the chief judiciary bodies of the old regime. The Parliament was important because royal edicts had to be registered with it before they become laws.

In Paris any professional body could exercise pressure over guilds. For instance, the tailors, the most ancient and numerous body, were dynamic and influential with regard to their privileges.

Consequently it was logical that Paris continued to assert increasing dominance in the clothing and fashion concerns after the Revolution. Tailors and modistes in continuity with the fame

they had known during the Ancien Regime, could develop their profession and diversify their activities. But also "merchant-fabricants" have played a major role in the emergence of the "confection". Tailors or merchant fabricants were prosperous in Paris and were thus able to stock fabrics and make clothing in advance. Notably, the merchant used the existing competition among tailor's assistants ,to develop their business during the off-season when they could not work for the master tailor. The "merchant-fabricant", becoming "confectionneur" employed the tailors' assistants during this period .Tailors, still dependent on a personal and seasonal clientele, were unable to provide work for their employees all year long. In contrast, "confectionneur" implemented with the ready-to-wear an industry which had no "off-season". Furthermore clothing "confection" was different from the rest of textile industry. In most cases, in order to compensate the lack of qualification of the workers, textile industrial entrepreneur needed to implement an organization of work based upon a strict division of tasks. The process facilitated the supervision of the labor force; it also led to the creation of factories. Producing goods of low quality industrial entrepreneurs hired low skilled labor force that needed higher supervision, hence their groupment in space was necessary. On the contrary "confectionneur" had no need for such organization; they needed skills and specialized workers who did not have to be supervised since confection products were not just simple goods for lower classes ( some of the confection

products addressed also middle classes). Skilled work was still needed for producing clothing of higher quality. As surveillance of labor was not needed, the ex tailor's assistant could perform at home instead in a workshop ( as it was obligatory before the Revolution). This allowed him to preserve a degree of freedom, but also to work for more than one "confectionneur" and to develop his own clientele (19). Hence the sole innovation that was implemented was the division between the space of production and the space distribution-consumption within the confection industry.

Similarly before 1858 when Worth opened his business Rue de le Paix in Paris and became then recognized the first "grand couturier", numerous modistes were already concentrated in Paris and had developed a reputation around fashion clothing for women. Hence when Paris asserted its leadership in haute-couture it related to the free competition resulting from this concentration of specialized professionals. the main innovation in the haute-couture was to generate change through seasonal collections. And clothing collection could only be created in a specific context where numerous fashion creators were gathered and competing each others -that is to say where they had access to each others production and where a "reservoir" of creators was already constituted; hence in Paris. What characterizes a collection is its "tendance" (or trend) : even if each grand-couturier affirm its difference, he needs to be aware of what

others are creating in order to cultivate his specificity. A "tendance" or trend is not understandable without a site of origin. Furthermore this promiscuity among fashion designers informed the confectionneur realm that copied the "tendance". The reciprocity of relationship between ready-to-wear and haute-couture accelerated the process of change and affected large scale fashion production. Thus, clothing and fashion industries related to the development of the textile industry were characterized by these differences of means of production, prices and techniques within the general evolution of the industry. Fashion developed in a spatial concentration yet related to its environment -Paris- rather than in a closed factory structure as the textile industry did. The existing enclosure was rather one of centralized creation among parisian couturiers - Paris being their spatial common denominator.

This central role Paris played in the French economic and social lives, especially for clothing and fashion, was in continuity with the old regime. The division of national territory in departments, cantons and districts in 1789-99, confirmed the rationalization of the French territory and the role of centralization. Cities took a central role through this territorial division with regard to their social expression as well as their economic and administrative ones. Paris role increased with the implementation of innovations and infrastructural developments. For instance, the railroad

system connected Paris to the entire national territory and international markets. This also had a strong impact on the textile industry and clothing production and distribution; notably in the spreading of fashion as national and international industry, since fashion was the first industry to need rapid means of communication,

In conclusion, although the evolution of textile production and trade originally affected the formation of clothing and fashion productions, it is not sufficient to explain the development of public interest in fashion. The development of fashion, independent aesthetic realm -however closely related to economic interests- cannot solely be explained by the consumption of material objects. The acceptance of the new or novelty as a social value goes beyond any development of textile production and trade in a class distinction perspective. The desire for fashion was growing in all levels of the society - from the worker to the high bourgeoisie- it corresponded to a deep social and cultural change. Fashion attracting different class audiences participated in the transformation of individual everyday's life in the 19th century. These change in people's behavior toward clothing and fashion were linked to the ones appearing after the Revolution that freed the individuals expression and placed them at the center of all interventions, without the obligation to limit themselves to collective "law". Furthermore, fashion, was at the intersection of two spheres - the economic and aesthetic ones- and enjoyed Paris as a leading area for centralization of creative power; fashion was then strictly different to the textile industrialization which generated closed spaces for mass-production of single product. After 1850 in fact fashion was a notable invention well in advance upon other technological goods such as automobile,

photography... Furthermore the originality of fashion was to take Paris as its unique center of intervention during this period. It corresponded to the contemporary changes affecting the capital. Notably fashion pioneered in retailing and advertising that later invested other sectors of the consumer society. Hence, fashion as an urban activity through its production and distribution of clothing articulated time and space. Hence to understand modern fashion as it roused , the emergence of the modern city must be taken into account. Since fashion criss-crossed the urban transformation and permeated the city during 19th century. The changes affecting the substance as well as the surface of the city were parallel to the change in individual behavior that fashion greatly had influenced since the Revolution. The second section of the inquiry will look up the connections between fashion dynamism and urban dynamism in Paris during the 19th century.



QUOTE:

- (1) P. Leon in Histoire economique de la France
- (2) ib.
- (3) Article "Crise economique au 18e siecle"
- (4) A. DeTocqueville in The Old Regime and the French Revolution
- (5) W. Reddy in The Rise of Market culture
- (6) G. Lipowetsky in L'Empire de l'Ephemere
- (7) R. Williams in Dream Worlds
- (8) W. Reddy The Rise of Market culture
- (9) F. Faraut in La Belle Jardiniere
- (10) W. Reddy in The Rise of Market Culture
- (11) M. Foucault in Power/Knowledge
- (12) W. Reddy in The Rise of Market Culture
- (13) Villermé Tableau de L'etat des Ouvriers...
- (14) in L'etat et l'Essor Industriel de la France
- (15) H. Vanier in les Metiers de la Mode
- (16) F. Faraut in La Belle Jardiniere
- (17) Bergeron article "Le Role De Paris Dans L'organisation des Echanges interieurs Francais"
- (18) A. DeTocqueville in The Old Regime and the French Revolution

## CHAPTER 3: FASHION AND THE MODERN CITY

### 1 THE CITY CONSUMED

#### A THE CITY AS A PRODUCTION OF SPACE.

With the coming of industrial society ,new control structures appeared in the urban environment. Notably the city considered as a target of external intervention emerged in the 19th century when it became the arena for a new kind of economic stakes. The new urban economy became dominated by money and commodities. As a consequence of this dynamism, it the center for speculation at that time. Since speculation and profit became the major means of intervention driving the development of the city and particularly of Paris. For instance , bank interests developed dramatically within the capital's wall as commercial valorization increased. Speculation developed especially with the construction of the commercial Passages built between 1800 and 1845 ( Passage Choiseul, Passage Vivienne, passage D'Antin...) . As pointed out in the article "Construire la ville au 19e siecle", new types of business societies were created to promote such construction in the center of Paris. For instance,

La société of Passage D'antin, between the rue D'antin and rue Helder was created in 1825 on the initiative of The Baron Mechin, Deputy and Banker, Who brought 2 houses and the land along with 1 106 000 F."

The Arcades stand as a paradigm of speculation. The city space became a value for exchange, and The Arcades or Passages expressed this new entrepreneurial attitude toward the making of the city and the financial entrepreneur played a major role in the evolution of the city. As a product of speculation the Arcades demonstrated individuals' interest to direct the evolution of the city towards commercial profit. Financial intervention in the city was viewed as a business. The improvement of the city became then directly related to commercial objectives. A. Vidler wrote in "On Street" about such Arcades:

They were the home of the Stock exchange for twenty years, the center of speculation and stock dealing; they furnished a home to the printing trade and the cloth and fashion trades; finally, joining the two great theaters of Paris, they were themselves show rooms for humanity.

The role of the banking "industry" merged with speculative interests in Paris. Political intervention amplified this attitude toward the city during the Second Empire. After 1850 the action of Baron Haussmann stressed the relation between the economic sphere and the city when he developed a system "d'emprunts" in order to finance the transformation of Paris. Furthermore, the relationship between public and private actors was often a means to promote such a policy. For instance numerous "business Banks" became interested in public work such as the bank of the brothers Pereire which was involved in the

construction of the Grand Boulevards . The Pereire's bank created the " societe de l'hotel" for the purpose of buying the lands between the Rue Rivoli and the Rue St Honore, then to build, sell or rent their new buildings. But also their business compagny was responsible for managing the Grand Hotel du Louvres to which the Grand Magasin du louvre was later added in 1877. The Pereire Bank used a similar procedure for the creation of the Hotel de la Paix nearby the Grandes Maisons du Blanc which opened in 1863.

Space as an abstract concept resulting from these projects characterized by their large scale and their orientation toward commercial ends merged into a new communication network .The city was then reduced to a mere artifact. This new role of the entrepreneur and the city treated as a product by external forces were illustrated notably in the writings of Balzac and Zola . in in Cesar Birotteau emphasized the promibence of the banking interests in the molding of the city. "... 'the speculation?' said the perfumer, ' what is this trade?' - 'This is the abstract trade'..." . Hence, the city became an abstract object remote from its use value. The attitude of Aristide Rougon/Saccard in Zola's "La Curee" expressed the increasing role of the economic.

Aristide Rougon s'abattit sur Paris, au lendemain du 2 decembre avec ce flair des oiseaux de proie qui sentent de loin les champs de bataille ... Le soir de son arrivée, pendant qu'Angéle défaisait les malles, il éprouva le besoin de courir Paris de Battre de ses gros souliers de

provincial ce pavé brulants d'où il comptait  
faire jaillir des millions.

In the beginning the role of "parvenu" or "arriviste" such as Saccard was determined the emergence of speculation in the city of paris. This new social group resulted from the important immigration that occurred in Paris . After the 1830's the city population of Paris dramatically increased in size and most of the new population was from outside the City. But especially in the mid 19th century population growth and its recomposition transformed Paris significantly . According to the figures from Herbert in "Impressionism" , between 1875 and 1891 the population increased 93% as a result of the immigration from other regions of the country , or foreign countries. This immigration constituted mainly single individuals.

The foreigners, the provincial immigrants, the temporary visitors, the professional couples without children , the construction workers and laundresses who left their families in the provinces, these were the ones who populated the Second Empire and the Third Republic.

This new category of inhabitants acted in fact as a new customer category rather than as traditional users in the city. Their influence was especially felt in dynamics of the commercial environment. As a result, more commercial activities became also a place of speculation. Notably, new commercial trades such as fashion were related to this new social group. For instance ,Worth the first Grand Couturier recognized as such came from London and numerous managers of department stores came from provinces : Boucicaut who was born in Orne established the first

Grands Magasins The Bon Marche; but also Cognacq Ernest who was born in Charente- Maritime was the creator of the Samaritaine with his wife Marie Louise Jay herself from Hautes -Savoie. Often such commercial innovators worked as employees in textile trades before opening their own businesses. All these strangers formed and made their mark on the development of the city. As outsiders, they were free from any bounds with Parisian traditional behavior coming from professional or familial. Besides they had new needs since they did not belong to the closed worlds of the court or of the guilds system. Commercial dynamism of the times responded to the expectation of these new consumers in search of their identities. These new inhabitants in parallel to the new urban dynamism developed an abstract relationship with the City. In this context their physical appearances played a major role as their expectations toward the city life adopted an other pattern than the one previously practiced, for instance they looked for services in the city.

## B SPACES OF CONSUMPTION IN THE CITY

Commerce and especially the luxury trades responded to the demand of the new user consumers who appeared in Paris. The activities themselves were innovative, because they were not limited by any traditional value of the local retailers. This trend appeared at the beginning of the 19th century and could be seen in the writings of Balzac writing. For instance one of

his key character, Cesar Birotteau is a perfumer and the success of his business depends on the innovation of new perfumes and other body products to satisfy the needs of his diverse costumers. Even more, Cesar Birotteau borrows from an other advanced commercial area the characteristics of his trade - that is to say from fashion and the Merchants de mode or magasins de nouveautes.

Constance Pilleraut was the première "demoiselle" of "magasins de nouveautes" named the "Petit Matelot". The first of the shops that since were implemented in Paris with more or less painted sign-boards, flying streamers, shop-windows full of swinging shawl, ties arranged as playing card castle and thousand of other commercial seductions, fixed prices, posters, illusions and optical effects raised at such degree of perfection the shop windows became commercial poems...( Cesar birotteau)...He imitated in his realm the system of " Petit Matelot" , he was the first of the perfumers to display the luxury of posters, advertisements and means of publication which maybe are unfairly referred to charlatanism.

Innovation has since became the basis of commercial success. The novelty of the means of promotion influenced the organization of retailing trade as well as its use of space .

It contributed notably to the reorganization of space in the city. Haussmann's reorganization encouraged concentration of the luxury trades and created a strong competitive atmosphere in central Paris. Only commercial activities could remain in the center of the city, because the increasing land value resulting from speculation and Haussmann's work drove part of the

industrial sector toward the periphery of Paris. As a result the percentage of commercial workers or employees almost equaled those in the industry. Numerous areas of the center became highly commercialized such as Rue de Rivoli, Rue de la Paix, Place Vendome, Palais Royal, Avenue de l'Opera, Champs Elysees...

A new kind of architecture for consumption resulted. For instance, the distribution of fashion in this context of booming commercial activities became a key element in the shaping of the new urban environment. From the time of the Ancien Regime fashion drew first in its train the consumption of luxury goods and finally after the Revolution all consumer goods in general. Textile products were the first type of goods to be influenced by the democratization of fashion since the change in fabrics' nature allowed their large scale distribution. As a result of the various means of spreading fashion department stores had a dramatic influence. For instance, after the 1850's, more than twenty of them opened between 1850 and 1900. Even if a large scale distribution of clothing and fabrics existed at the beginning of the 19th century as it did with the Belle Jardiniere, it was with the creation of the specific architecture of department stores that fashion distribution and consumption actually developed. Before then often the Grand Magasins or Bazzars were housed in preexisting structures with no specific features. The creation of an autonomous type of architecture with modern construction material (Iron, huge



glass...) developed after the 1850's and was part of the philosophy of the business manager or director of these huge commercial spaces that established the autonomy of fashion as a specific trade. In this perspective the city as a machine for the circulation of "goods" was duplicated on a smaller scale by Department store. They were organized to manage the increasing complexity of the activities that took place within them as well as to facilitate circulation of fashion goods . Due to the increasing diversity of textile products that were sold a "communication network" was necessary to make the "machine " work. Also, as Miller underlined in the "Bon Marche" a paternalistic method of management was adopted: in this way, the department store generated an internal world which was substituted for the home that numerous employees did not have since most of them came from outside of Paris. The department stores functioned as a mechanism with divisions of tasks and activities whose purpose was to maximize consumer attraction. As in the arcades and the magasins de nouveautés the art of displaying merchandises was central. The rotation of merchandise had to be accelerated and the diversification of the products to be sold had to be increased in order to respond to consumer demands . This acceleration of the movement of the goods is expressed in Zola 's " Au Bonheur de Dames" when Mouret explains his strategy to the Baron Hartmann:

Vous entendez, monsieur le baron, toute la mécanique est là. C' est bien simple mais il fallait la trouver. Nous n'avons pas besoin d'un gros roulement de fond. Notre effort unique est

de nous débarasser tres vite  
de la marchandise achetée, pour la remplacer par  
d'autres, ce qui fait rendre au capital autant de  
fois son interet.

Consumption increased in its turn. The middle class was the first to take advantage of this artifact which had been created to facilitate the flow of fashion merchandises and clients, much as Haussmann had done on a grander scale in Paris. As a result the fashion consumption could spread from the upper class to the lower one in a context where city and fashion distribution shared similar characteristics.

The creation of these huge structures impacted the environment , both as a pole of attraction for other complementary commercial activities and in changing the perception people had of their environment. For instance the use of large glass shop-windows allowed a direct visual relationship between the pedestrian and the commodities. The visibility of goods became an essential consideration in shaping the facades, and the visual impact surfaces became preeminent. Consequently the commercial activity transcended the space of consumption itself ; the city was reidentified as a visual attraction in correlation with the development of consumption . This is illustrated in Zola 's conclusion of " Au Bonheur des Dames"

when Mouret inaugurates the new department facades:

La rue du dix decembre, toute neuve, avec ses  
maisons d' une blancheur de craie et les derniers  
échafaudages les quelques batisses attardées,  
s'allongeant sous un limpide soleil de fevrier;  
un flot de voiture passait d'un large train de  
conquête, au milieu de cette trouée de lumière

qui coupait l'ombre humide du vieux quartier Saint Roch; et, entre la rue de la Michodiere et la rue Choiseul, il y avait une émeute, l'écrasement d'une foule chauffée par un mois de réclame, les yeux en l'air, bayant devant la façade monumentale du Bonheur des Dames, dont l'inauguration avait lieu ce lundi là, a l'occasion de la grande exposition du blanc.

The superposed and simultaneous uses of various methods of advertising entered in collision with the city .Whether it was specialized magazines such as fashion periodicals or "reclame", "affiches" or commercial facades, every object became transformed into a source of informational support for the development of fashion consumption. In the realm of Haute-couture the consumer herself that is to say her body, also became an advertisement support. Writings of the period are suggestives:

La couturière est reçue de partout... dans la matinée quelques dames avaient invité une des meilleures faiseuses et des plus à la mode, à se rendre auprès d'elles, pour décider d'un plan de réforme. Il s'agissait de la suppression de quelques volants; la couturière prit la liberté grande de combattre le programme réformiste et, la discussion s'échauffant, elle se leva et dit à une de ses dames: Je ne comprends pas que vous vous vouliez me forcer à adopter votre programme économique, de votre part, cela n'a pas de sens commun. et... l'artiste sortit. On alla aux informations, et l'on apprit que la dame qui avait essuyé la bourrasque était la lanceuse de l'artiste en couture. Quand il était nécessaire d'inaugurer une mode un peu risqué on l'envoyait à la dame avec la facture acquittée, et celle-ci lançait le soir la robe dans deux ou trois bals... et le lendemain, la couturière avait dix commandes...

From La Semaine Politique November 1857 quoted from H. Vanier, " la mode et ses metiers".

The promotion of fashion products used all types of material supports . Consequently it initiated an equivalence between the body , architecture, the city and the space of consumption.

#### C THE CITY AS A CONSUMPTION OF SPACE

Fashion changed people's attitude toward clothing and consumption as well as their attitude toward the city . fashion has involved individual choice since the 19th century and it has also expressed a sense of collective belonging that is made explicit by space since it displays an individual's relationship with his/her social environment. The change of people's attitude as a result of fashion was parallel to the renewal of the city because the past order has lost its meaning.

This change was possible due to the increasing rationalization which remodeled the city, industry, and commerce since the 19th century. With Haussmann this rationalization was linked to the abstraction and geometrization of the city. The rationalization of the city's space was achieved through the method used to lay out the Boulevards : Posts were set up in key points of the Capital in order to trace the plan of the boulevards by means of triangulation. Haussmann saw the city as a whole abstract object onto which other artifacts could be fixed , hence space became the

substitute for society:

Before concerning myself with the piercing of new public ways, where networks constitute the most singular part of the Transformation of our great city, should I not, in effect speak of the initial study for this long and laborious work and of the instruments which had served me to undertake this project in its entirety and its details; to determine on the spot the line of each avenue, boulevard or street to be opened up and to oversee the faithful execution of the whole?

Hausmann, memoires t2 quoted from Vidler in "On Street".

Paris was instrumentalized and the inhabitants evacuated , some physically ,some symbolically. A city stressed as a whole object results in an equivalence of its parts that meant also that its parts become interchangeable. In this perspective the city became a support of information through the development of its communicative network and rebounded on the mass which filled its linear space.

The main activities of the mass which took place in the new center of Paris were driven by leisure and entertainment. Leisure did not restrict itself to the performing world ( opera, theater, cafe concert) that was spreading but extended also to other activities that were foreign to its influence previously .this is to say that commercial relationships became driven by the desire for recreation and fashion distribution was integrated into leisure activities. In this frame people made the trip to central Paris just to walk in the streets or

boulevards, to shop in these impressive stores to to laugh in the cafe-theaters. The city became an attraction as a way of life through the consumption of its space. Fashionable districts were generated following the activities housed in their space. The space of a department store offered increasing diversification in its by-products for leisure. Hence leisure widened its sphere of intervention. From entertainment structures it spread to fashion and commercial buildings to open public spaces as well (garden, parks and street) where people strolled with no other aim than to look about. Hence spatial activities and the city, at least the center of the city, became consumed as are any other manufactured commodities. We find this duality expressed in the relationship between Saccard, Zola's prototype of the financial entrepreneur, and his wife when Saccard pushes his wife to consume fashion and consequently space ( she even trades her land to pay her clothing bills ). For him, his success is proportional to the fashion success of his wife:

Il la voulait bien mise, bruyante, faisant tourner la tête à tout Paris, cela le posait, doublant le chiffre probable de sa fortune... elle était une associée, une complice sans le savoir. Un nouvel attelage, une toilette de 2000 ecus, une complaisance pour quelques amant facilitèrent, décidèrent souvent ses plus heureuses affaires.

This consumption of space and women responded to the loss of usage value. The new Parisian society was looking for roots in the city in order to compensate for the loss of traditional

practice of inhabiting it since it was not longer fitting the modern society .Parisian life was described by many contemporary observers as oriented toward feasts , parties and activities not which were contained in the home unit.

Saccard adopts the same attitude toward the city that he has toward his wife, a means of profit. Zola in regareding the city as a feminin character responds to the general imagery of a woman as the prototype consumer during 19th century with the spread of feminine fashion. In fact fashion did not limit its influence to women clothing. Fashion consumption started to shape a demand and a need for better quality of life and space.

The city was used by the upper class for the services or pleasures that it could offer. The consumption of space in the fashion distribution is an example of a new relationship between the "inhabitants" and his/her city. Whether department store or fashion house these places introduced a new type of social interaction with shopping. The shopping became an emotional and ritual experience that cancelled any guilt about consumption . Previously customer entered a store to buy specific items. With the new fashion distribution (At first the introduction of the prix fixe in the Magasin de Nouveaute), the client mainly women was free to look at the merchandise displayed, at the same time they were manipulated by the organization of the department stores as described it Zola in "

Au Bonheur des Dames": the clients passed from one vendor to another, one department to another, according to the division of spaces and activities under the managerial control, this organization overwhelmed them. Moreover, the use of light, color and material created a "fairyland like atmosphere" that transformed consumption into a sensorial experience. The use of decor for commercial exhibits, oriental rugs, 'exposition du Blanc or other thematic exhibits increased, the product to be sold was used as the decor. Shopping became a mental and dreamlike experience. Zola often compares the department store to a cathedral.

The "packaging" of the fashion house expressed a similar process. The design of the fashion houses were parallel to the evolution of a domestic architecture of the home. The fashion house was organized around thematic salons. These salons were furnished with divans, sofas, precious tables or objects, the walls were covered with paintings, in fact it was the reproduction of a bourgeois interior. Commercial or industrial elements were avoided. Women went from the salon de vente to the salon de lingerie to the salon d'essayage...Here also the use of color of material, drapery, lights was used to create a feeling of intimacy. Once again we find in Zola's "La Curee" a description of the fashion House of Worms (for Worth):

Le salon de grand luxe était vaste est carre,  
garni de larges divans. Il y entrait avec une  
émotion religieuse. Les toilettes ont  
certainement une odeur propre; La soie, le



satin, le velours, les dentelles, avaient marié leurs arômes légers à ceux de la chevelure et des épaules ambreées; et l'air du salon gardait cette tiédeur odorante, cet encens de la chaleur et du luxe qui changeait la pièce en une chapelle consacrée à quelque secrète divinité... ces dames étaient chez elles, parlaient librement, et lorsqu'elles se pelotonnaient autour de la pièce on aurait dit un vol blanc de lesbiennes qui se serait abattu sur les divans d'un salon parisien.

Cathedral or chapel these architectural images were not limited to temporality and generated an imagery of spaces in correlation to fashion imagery, for instance, numerous fashion creations found their inspiration in reusing historical models. Such imagery addressed to imagination and intellect in order to respond to social and cultural crisis of the time. For instance all the flourishing movement concerning the place of women in the society ( i.e. The role of "la femme nouvelle "). Hence ,an interaction developed between the cultural meaning of the city and the behavior of people based on their aesthetics imagery. The fantasy City became reality through the implementation of urban forms of fashion distribution.

## 2 CITY AS A SCENE FOR FASHION

### A REPRESENTATION IN THE CITY

Means of communication emerged from public and commercial spaces in the city. These spaces became the home of the Parisian society and as such a place for individual representation. Representation includes three characteristics. It is a mediator between the individuals and their environments. In this sense representation translates a relationship between the individual and his group through a code. Second as a result individual representation manifests through concrete objects the material reality of this relationship. Finally representation denotes the status or role of the individual in the society. This material representation is a manifestation related to ephemeral and perennial, individual and collective, and addresses every day life or art. Clothing fashion is an example of individual representation. Fashion explicits a social (i.e. the woman), economic (i.e. bourgeois, collector or flaneur) and cultural (i.e. the dandy) status. Fashion as an individual representation explicits or alters one status - such as the demi mondaine who wore the clothing of the same fashion designer as the upper class women.

During the 19th century especially through women's clothing

the formal representation as an image became significant. Appearance was important in public, and often fashion for women was most demonstrative in the public sphere. fashion emphasized the visual more than means of expressions ( example women writings). If the generalization of the visual expression influenced all of society, it was especially true for the women as fashion was one of their major media of communication. Fashion clothing marked the time and location of the woman. Michelle Perrot writes in "Pratiques de la Memoire Feminine" that the observation of women was then restricted to their role as a collective entity since their social status was related to that of their husband ( mainly for middle and upper classes) . Clothing was determinant to shape their memories:

A woman registers the circumstances of her life through the dresses she wears , her love affairs through the color of a scarf or the form of a hat...The monotony of years is differentiated by the costumes which fixed the representation of the events that marked the heart:

" I was wearing this day..." said she.

The women accumulated fashion much as the collector gathered in his home strange objects. Both consumed decorative goods that stressed the rising importance of visual arts at this time. In this perspective the ornamentation of the body through fashion use was the main expression of women.

Among other consumers of fashion, was the flaneur. He nourished himself with representations ( i.e. images) as his economic status allowed him to practice urban leisure. He has

been described as one of the main figures of the 19th century, he is the observer of the street life. The flaneur looked for an interaction with his environment. As Walter Benjamin put it in "The Paris of the Second Empire in Baudelaire":

The crowd is not only the newest asylum of outlaws it is also the latest narcotic for those abandoned. The flaneur is someone abandoned in the crowd. In this he shares the situation of the commodity ...The intoxication to which the flaneur surrenders is the intoxication of the commodity around which surges the stream of the costumed.

The space of the city not only could be described as a commodity but also as fashion product since it became an object of seduction. The flaneur adopting the attitude of a spectator, accumulated urban impressions. His relationship to the city was then seen from an emotional point of view. When Benjamin Walter draws the parallel between the city and department store through their exchange of characteristics (interior, strolling) he stressed the abstract quality of these places which addressed mental representation through dreamlike experiences. These experiences hypnotic (i.e. fascination) rather than concrete. The objects as the impressions of the flaneur were invested with sentimental value rather than usage value. Hence the interaction of the flaneur was not with his/her like but with what other individuals represented; the artifact and the human being were equivalent in the city. Victor Fournel wrote in "Ce qu'on voit dans les rues de Paris":

Like Poe, I have often isolated myself in the crowd, out in the street, in order to change

myself into a spectator and sit in the pit of this improvised theater...

It would certainly be a very interesting exercise to read the daily occupations, the varied professions, the intimate and domestic life that mark each person, posted on his countenance, as it were, on his demeanor and tone of voice, as on the signboard of a shop; to look into the character indicated by a gait or physiognomy; to ask oneself what long habit of disorder or of probity, what series of virtues or of crimes have come to engrave an indelible and vivid expression on this or that face one is examining. ( quoted from R.Herbert Impressionism).

As nobody is totally different, one can imagine the life of the other without knowing him or her .Hence, this consumption of people ,fashion, goods is driven by a likeness in experiencing things and events . Simultaneously, consumption was practiced on a solitary and individualistic basis in the urban environment.As a result, the city through fashion consumption equalized the social experience.

In opposition to the Flaneur stands the individuality of the dandy that opposed the mass and the crowd. The importance of the representation for the dandy marked his refusal of the new environment. In the case of the dandy fashion and individual representation marked a cultural difference. Hence to stress his difference ,he used clothing and generated fashion . The dandy figure began with Brummel in England as a court consumer. But later in the 19th century the dandy became more decadent and was personified notably by Baudelaire. The taste for elegance and toilette still remained the expression of the superiority of

the mind:

Contrary to what a lot of thoughtless people seem to believe, dandyism is not even an excessive delight in clothes and material elegance. For the perfect dandy the things are no more than the symbol of the aristocratic superiority of his mind. Thus, in his eyes, enamored as he is above all of the distinction, perfection in dress consists in absolute simplicity, which is indeed, the best way of being distinguished.  
Baudelaire.

Thus the use of fashion in this case becomes more autonomous from clothing and instead addresses a cultural status. Clothing for the dandy is just one of the aspects of fashion. The dandy is the fashion "the thing itself". In the 19th century dandyism was no longer bound to the court realm as in the time of Brummel, but was connected and opened to the city.

It became an urban lifestyle that developed in parallel to the mass consumption. Already Brummel and the Count D'Orsay were heavy gamblers and borrowers, and even Baudelaire for a while was an active, conscious consumer. When Baudelaire referred to fashion he merged art and contemporary lifestyle as a sign of modernity. And as the court system did no longer exist the audience of the dandy moved into the visual art's, writing's and collectors' worlds in order to survive and expand. These worlds were themselves using the city as a material for their experiences and inspirations hence dandyism merged with city life. Baudelaire described a painter as the contemporary and modern dandy. The painter C. Guys represented the dandy to the eyes of Baudelaire because painting contemporary scenes of

the fashionable parisian society. This category of artists consumed fashionable spaces in the city as other individuals for instance, the cafe or other famous gathering spaces. In the modern city, every body looked at every body. From the fashionable woman to the dandy the fascination for the public space in the city was the common denominator.

## B THEATRIZATION OF THE CITY

With the change in people attitude toward the city perception , the public space became theatralized. It was simultaneously a place and an action. The term Theater come from the greek word theatron and means as well:

The place where you see, then the space where the public took place on the steps or hemicycle, then the crowd of spectator itself, finally the building itself housing the performances.  
( from the "Dictionnaire du theatre)

The word scene presents the same duality. Its meaning has expanded since the past. It was the decoration, then the area of play, then the place of action, then the time bound sub- part of an act. and finally the metaphoric translation a violent emotion ( to make a scene) in every day life.

Hence when one speaks of a theater or scene one speaks about

a place and an event. As such these concepts were linked to the city once public space became a scene for people representation. This does not mean that before there was not urban "scenology" and public gathering. For instance during the middle Ages concretely a number religious or royal events and "fete" were taking place in the city for which purpose ephemeral architecture was created in complement to the existing architectural supports. Even during the 17th and 19th centuries numerous ephemeral events were generated by royal. The change of nature of the theatralization of the city with the 19th century was that people became part of the theatralization. before the existing architectural structures, porches or a places were used for the purpose of representation onto which a decor was added but the representation was external to the crowd . With the boulevards, the parks and race tracks , the permanent space and the crowd that filled it became the subject of the "mise en scene". People went to see, be seen , act... The public space became spectacular. Mallarme who wrote for fashion magazine during the 19th century often mixed fashion and theater images to describes the city life of that time. . There was an appropriation of the space by the people through their movements along the streets and boulevards . People were simultaneously spectators as well as actors. They focused their attention on the formal appearance of the body as well as on the appearance expressed by the built surrounding . The introduction of gas light and the creation of large sidewalks increased the



seduction of the public space as the container of real life. The city as a place of action was substituted for the home.

The participation of the people to the movement of merchandises and passengers in the city resulted in the search for shared emotion. The city appeared as the place where adventure was possible. G. Simmel emphasized that adventure is part of life and normally is a kind of avatar of the every day life. But with the theatricalization of the city the adventure became permanent. Adventure was not just the privilege of the artist as Simmel defines it. People participated in a succession of ephemeral events taking places in the city. The successive number of universal exhibitions -( four in the space of 45 years almost every 11 years apart), the succession of art salons whether official or not that increased in frequencies (and where coupled with universal exhibits when those one occurred), commercial or artistic exhibits of the department stores were periodical during the year and fashion collections were seasonal. Thus, ephemeral experiences multiplied. In fact the number of accessible ephemeral events increased dramatically making the adventure of the city available to everyone. In addition compared to ephemeral events of the past those events addressed the autonomous individual rather than an overall collective and symbolic order. In this context the new urban dweller became detached from the context of the city and expressed his or her

r freedom in developing a visual relationship to the city. Simmel called the new individual the "objective individual". This individual participated in the life of the city according to " a particular structure composed of distance and nearness, indifference and involvement". The participation was parallel to the individual's level of submission to the consumption world. The public was invited, the individual was a visitor. people expressed their freedom through a variety options they were now able to choose. From the universal exhibits to the standardized Morris column the city became a source of information for the consumer. Hence participation resulted from the confrontation to information for educative purpose ( as some universal exhibitions intended it, when their objectives was to make accessible technical progress) , commercial purpose ( price and quality information) and artistic purpose ( art salon) . IN order to maintain a level of excitement in this participation, it was necessary to renew the information ( as for instance the seasonal fashion collection increased the pace of change toward fashion consumption and information). As a consequences the theatralized city public spaces became the container of individual and collective information exchanges in substitution of the usage value.

In this perspective fashion and city interventions introduced a process of change based upon disruption .The process of change was not to be restricted to fashion but impacted space as

well. For instance in the context of the city, Haussmann's work contributed to the creation of the dynamics of change. Hausmann does not speak of embellishment but of Transformation of the city (see vidler in On Street). In other words, urban change is seen in as a break with the past evolution of the city. This transformation implemented by Haussmann after 1853 exceeded in time the second Empire Era. The majority of Haussmann's transformation was achieve at the end of the Empire era and some of his works were completed only after 1870 ( i.e.Boulevard St Germain or the Opera). Thus, the change (destruction /reconstruction) was implemented and perceptible to all fot over 20 years . It dynamized the processes of obsolescence of the urban form. Furthermore it created a difference in the way public space for gathering was shaped. The Grands boulevards were generating a linear and mobile public space in contrast to the previous circular, nodal and centripete public spaces for gathering .

Change in the city has always been part of its fate. Wether one is speaking of change in form or substance. Because of the natural growth of population , often a city had to expand over its boundary ,or if there were geographic constraints old structures were razed and replaced with new ones. In addition centers of interest and activities (often commercial) ones were also changing place within the city space. The shift of center of activities to another area in the city was not new. in

Paris in regard to the centers of entertainment ,changes followed the evolution of the city: during the 16th century they were concentrated around the Street St Antoine; then the center shifted to the place Royale in the 17th century ;then at the beginning of 19th the center of life moved to Palais Royal. The pace of change socially and physically, was stable and continuous (100 years apart the evolution shows a move) . With the 19th century and the dramatic increase in the immigrant population and the Haussmann's intervention, the center of entertainment and pleasure fragmented along several subareas . In addition the rythm of the opening of commercial structures ( from the cafe , theater, to the department stores) accelerated the transformation of the the city into a performance.

#### C THE CITY AS AN EVENT

As a consequence of the theatricalization of public space ,the city became a juxtaposition of scenes or specialized sites. And fashion as an event invaded and permeated these sites. For instance in Uzanne's book "Les Modes de Paris" , the text is illustrated with fashion plates showing fashion always set in urban public scenes. From the skating Ring in 1876, to the Place de la Concorde in 1877, the Bateau Mouche in 1880, the Jardin

des Tuileries in 1883, the Champs Elysees in 1888 to the Palais de l'Industrie in 1892.... all those illustrations mapped the city of leisure and public gathering spaces according to fashion intervention. Worth Himself used the city as an advertisement field when he walked in these same places with his wife dressing his latest creation. The importance of fashion in the urban scene was expressed during the Universal exhibition of 1900 when the entrance gateway was topped with a statue called " la Parisienne" which was wearing a costume designed by the famous fashion designer Mr Paquin. In addition one of the major points of attraction of the Universal Exhibition was the "Pavillon de la Mode" where several fashion houses displayed their creations using urban -scene decor. Even Impressionist artists are influenced by fashion and his relation with urban leisure activities (such as Monet 's "Women in the Garden", or Manet's "In the conservatory"). Fashion materializes spacially the relationship between leisure and urbanization taking place in the 19th century.

In this perspective fashion institutionalized the process of change. From a disruption it became a cycle. For instance the cafe, cafe-concerts, restaurants , fashion houses and department stores rhythm of opening increased along the new spaces created by Haussmann's works. But activities spread also to the areas shaped by new leisure forms accessible to everyone . The bicycle in the garden and park as well as commercial activities in the

new spaces for fashion distribution were both examples of this extension of leisure. All commercial structures were bound to change the type of goods they sold as well as their envelope ( their internal or external decor) if they wanted to maintain the excitement of information. Diversification in spaces and activities contributed to develop an expectation toward change analogous to the one in fashion . The rapid renewal of the experience became part of the demand of the user-participant . In a way it institutionalized the change. The change became permanent, that is to say the precarious city was emphasized. Baudelaire felt this change:".. la forme d'une ville change plus vite ,helas. que le coeur d'un mortel."( form of city change faster, helas, than the heart of a mortal) Hence as in fashion, urbanization's change affected the "shell" or form and its substance . The permanence and stability of life was replaced by the frenzy of the urban life. It impacted the body and the activity of the individual in a city considered a source of events.

The city as an event is described for instance in Rousseau's " Une visite a l'Exposition Universelle de 1889". This work describes the visit of a provincial and Rousseau used the structure of a theater play .As the subtitle explicitly states: " Vaudeville en 3 actes et 10 tableaux. The first title was even , "voyage en 3 actes... ( Journey in 3 acts...). Paris for this provincial as well as many of his french contemporaries became

the object for an exceptional experience. As numerous of other provincials this one arrived with the "Train of pleasure" for the Exhibition of 1889. The author describes the visit in an accelerated manner, similar to the cinematographic fastforward process. The spaces of Paris are consequently inventoried as snapshots in which City and exhibition are merged . The successive and quasi simultaneous "tableaux" suggest: The boulevards, the Musee du Louvre , the Jardin des Plantes, the Montparnasse station, a part of the Trocadero, a part of the Champs de Mars , the Eiffel Tower. The visits do not follow a concrete reality but emphasize a cinematic movement that expresses the evasion from reality that the new urban environment permits. And each visitor selects its mode of travel in the city. It became a personal spiritual experience rather than an individual material appropriation.

### 3 FASHION AS AN URBAN PHENOMENON

G.Simmel points out " the frequent change of fashion represents a tremendous subjugation of the individual and in that respect forms one of the essential complements of the increased political freedom". The freedom of a creator of "new" was increasing simultaneous to the expansion of the impersonal and bureaucratic social environment. This importance of the super individual creator was epitomized by three figures who emerged with the rise of the modern society: the city planner, the fashion designer , the businessman or manager. Creative decision making concentrated in such individuals necessitates a hierarchy which was parallel to the bureaucracy in industrial, commercial organizations. This also resulted from the competition taking place spatially in the city of Paris since the concentration of innovators encouraged competition which resulted only in a few prominent figures initiating various trends, in visual arts - fine or decorative- or in the trades. The personality of those figures merged with their function . Haussmann posed himself as the transformer of the city ( in his Memoires the use of the first person and possessive pronouns are frequent), Mouret the fictive director of the department stores in Zola 's " au bonheur des dames is referred as a creator, the fashion designer Worth who created clothing as " unique piece" of art . Economic and aesthetic activities were fused and



confused. Practical economic decisions as well as their artistic power allowed them to dominate city and dictate taste therefore they imposed a rationality over the unpredictable and seemingly irrational. Nobody knows if fashion or commercial exhibits will work since ,in fact, consumption is a collective power generated by the motivations of the consumers who could ignore their intended influence. such motivations were not determined solely by economic or class status.

In turn ,the city itself became personalized. Balzac already described the city public space with human traits at the beginning of the 19th century:

Il est dans Paris certaines rues déshonorées  
autant que peut être un homme coupable  
d'infamie ; puis il existe des rue nobles, puis  
des rues simplement honnêtes, puis des jeunes rues  
sur la moralité desquels le public ne s'est pas  
encore fait d'opinion, puis des rues anciennes  
des rue plues vieilles que de vieilles douarières  
ne sont vieilles, des rue estimables ,des rues  
toujours propres, des rues toujours sales, des  
rues travailleuses, ouvrières, mercantiles. Enfin  
les rues de Paris ont des qualites humaines et  
nous imposent par leurs physionomies certaines  
opinions contre lesquelles nous sommes sans  
défense.

This physiognomy of the street does not depend so much on by the physical aspects of its built surroundings but from its human activities it housed. This human activity endows space with human qualities that replace the spatial unity of tradional use submitted to the collective. Balzac's observation can be applied to the City of the second empire when urban space reflected

style of life . Haussmann imposed an anonymous structure with the rationality of space and standardization of building typology along the boulevard and the introduction of standardized urban furniture. In response the department stores, cafe or theaters and other commercial entities began to use facades, exhibit areas and glass show windows to advertize their specificity and their product. They stylized public space as clothing and body was stylized by fashion.

Therefore urban lifestyle became differentiated among a same class. Uzanne in " la femme et la mode" underlined this dynamism of fashion intersecting with the new urban society dynamism. He wrote for instance that women use of fashion was an example of her emerging position in the society which occurred at the same time that women were beginning to enter professional fields.

Nous avons des femmes medecins, des avocates, des docteurs en droit, des femmes sculpteurs et peintres en abondance. Ce n'est qu'un debut; il y a dans les grandes villes comme Paris une polarisation du fluide intellectuel qui pousse tout le monde a l'action. Nos contemporaines n'y echappent pas et ce dont elles

souffrent le plus, c'est leur role passif dans une societe active.

Fashion for women was a means to participate in the modern dynamism of individual expression in contrast to the collective. Fashion exemplified the freedom of new urban life style which regarded the city as an abstract concept . This was especially true for women as described by Uzanne in La Femme et

### la Mode:

Dans le camps des dames, les visites reçues et rendues, les courses, les emplettes, les soins

généraux du home tiennent en partie les heures de la journée; mais nous ne serons pas étonnée que notre pauvre contemporaine n'éprouva à ces diverses occupations futiles d'autre plaisir que celui d'échapper momentanément à ses pensées d'ordre intime et obsédant... elle chercha partout l'étincelle de sa divinité et voyant qu'on a désappris le chemin de son temple, elle s'est lancée dans les extravagances du dehors fouettant sa vie à l'exemple des males, se masculinisant meme.

Fashion emphasized the physical presence of women in their different social activities. Fashion consumption decrease barriers between man and woman and mark the opening of the society to to category of people previously excluded. Although the private realm remained the place of women , fashion shows also that their access to public sphere was rising: Hours and acts of the day were marked with different clothing , for lunch, visit, city, promenade, ceremony ... which were connected to the different places and activities offered in the city for every moment of the day. Fashion in a way created an area of freedom for women as they were given to the public realm . with fashion consumption women created another reality within the city to replace the dying reality of the city as a collective whole. Fashion promoted fragmentation and division of the city and acted as the link between each of its part through the rationalization of the body. an other thinker of the late 19th century G. de Tarde described fashion as a democratization

process based on individual freedom ; for him fashion resulted in the creation of diversity more in time than in space because progress in communications techniques weakened spatial differences. Freedom of fashion and goods consumption led to social cohesion cohesion through a shared urban life style.

In this context diversity in space resulted from variety in space characteristics through the relationship between the public space and the private space . spaces became private or public according to the action of the human beings. Fashion as a medium confirmed this phenomenon of private or public gradation according to the personal expression through clothing style. Often 19th century space has been described as the dichotomy of public space for man and private space for women, which resulted from the institutional dichotomy between public and private after the revolution. Accessibility to public space ( especially for the bourgeoisie class) for women was restricted to their appearance and role as a wife of. But fashion faded the institutional lines of difference.. As underlined by Valerie Steele in Paris fashion there were different qualities of public spaces that notably were identified by the presence of fashion.

For instance Ballrooms , salons were public spaces for the gathering of the parisian society . Moreover the concept of the the bourgeois interior with its distinct function (salons or parlors, kitchen ...) emerged at this time reflecting the

dichotomy between the public rooms and the private ones .So that public life of parisian society occured as much in their salons than in parks. The open spaces of the boulevard or street were more the place for the new dweller, the outsider to parisian society. In fact institutional public space was not the one were public opinion ( at this time the the bourgeoisie opinion )was originated. As a consequence there were not a public space versus a private space but a hierachy and gradation of public and private spaces. In this context fashion denoted the space as public or private as an expresion of group closure: For instance a definition of public space was determined by the Parisian society excluding other types people in the city ; One way to be accepted in the Parisian society was to get a parisian wardrobe that is to say to be aware of the latest fashion ( see Balzac writings notably). Even certain open public spaces were appropriated by certain class : For instance Garden or park were more or less "semi public" ,it was where innovative fashion could be worn before being launched on the market. Also women could determine the character of the space wearing certain type of clothing as there were clothing for diner, for concerts, for theater , for promenade and for visit. For instance, in the conclusion of La Curee when Rene loses everything, reference is made to a clothing code that she wanted to use to communicate a private relationship at a public event. She intended to use the costumes of nymph Echo and Narcissi for her and her lover to express their private relationship at a

ball which is the a public gathering .

In fact the use of fashion as a media marked a new relationship between the individual and space. the action of the individual qualified space rather than the institutional authority. Hence fashion became the archetypal mediator between private and public space. that is to say fashion in clothing became a communicative means that supported the expression individual uniqueness . Since fashion did not refer solely to a collective unity whether cultural or economic but rather is subject to interpretation, it mediates the relationship between the individual and its environment . Hence the definition of a public space became dependent on the communication and information between individuals rather than a legal or authoritarian action.

The consumption of fashion regularized the innovation since the aesthetic innovation became a necessary constant that drives fashion. For instance G.Detarde wrote :

Il y a entre le régime de la mode et le progrès de l'invention contemporaine une réciprocity de stimulation qui ne doit pas faire reconnaître l'antériorité de celle-ci.

Furthermore it institutionalized the options that is to say it focused on the individual rather than the mass mimetism. Even if in the department store the client consumes similar fashion in department store, and was fashion spread by imitation. The preeminence of the individual over the collective resulted from

fashion since it addressed personal choice. de Tarde stated about about his contemporary: "Le citoyen des nouveaux temps se flatte de faire un libre choix entre les propositions qui lui sont faites". For instance Haute psychologized fashion. we find this already expressed in Zola's "la Cure" when the fashion designer says to her client:

Mais, d'autre fois, l'inspiration était rétive. L'illustre Worms l'appelait vainement, concentrait ses facultés en pure perte. Il torturait ses sourcils, devenait livide, prenait entre ses mains sa pauvre tête qu'il branlait avec désespoir, et vaincu, se jetant dans un fauteuil:

..." pas possible, pas possible, chère madame, vous repasserez un autre jour... Je ne vous sens pas ce matin"

The fashion designers used emotions as well as the personality of their clients as ingredients in their work as much as they look for an artistic autonomous inspiration. Tarde made fashion a general process that spread to all levels of society particularly with the dominance of urban society over the rest of the society. Fashion and consumption linked parts of society that were spatially and socially separated.. As the city lost its meaning as a whole fashion as a new communication system with fashion industry as well as a personal media replaced for this loss of collective understanding. For instance G. de Tarde saw in the fashion process a form of solidarity operating the link between the individual and the collective dimensions.. What he called "socialite" or solidarity as fashion as a media is at once as a consumption a communion because a shared experiment thus reflecting a collective spirituality but also as a personal use a communication about this person

difference.



#### PART 4 CONCLUSION : FASHION AND THE FABRICATION OF URBAN CULTURE

Before the French Revolution clothing were primarily produced and consumed by the same individual as it was a domestic activity. Even in the realm of the court, clothing resulted from the collaboration between the aristocrat and the professional (tailors, milliners or marchands de mode). On the other hand fashion was performed by the aristocrat as the leading power in matter of intellectual and aesthetic activities.

After the French Revolution, fashion became an autonomous professional activity in relation with the development of an independent clothing industry. In fact there has been a simplification of the notion of fashion which has been reduced to the appearance of the body in order to develop a fashion industry. That is to say fashion resulted from the growing importance of the individual expression after the Revolution. As a result fashion has been merged with the production of clothing in two branches : the haute couture and the confection or ready to wear.

From this dichotomy resulted a hierachy in the production of

clothing. Fashion clothing industry developed driven by the authority of the grand couturier or fashion designer. This one to assert his/her social and professional status had to evacuate the user from the decision making process in the production and creation of clothing. The confection also evacuated the user input but this part of clothing industry was submitted to the creation dynamic of the haute couture. Even so a majority of people were still making their own clothing as the mass production of clothing emerged only during the late 19th century and even at the beginning of 20th century, people's attitude toward clothing changed. This change resulted from the overwhelming presence of fashion in the city of Paris

Fashion industry and consumption concentrated in a city - Paris- The centralization of fashion industry is explained by the conjunction of several facts: the historic evolution of the role of Paris as center of power and leader in the economic, the event of the French Revolution and the social and legal change resulting and the particularity of fashion industry based on the diffusion of information. that is to say that Paris already before the Revolution played a leading role in luxury trade and clothing professions due to the proximity of Versailles as the reservoir of consumers for luxurious goods. After the French Revolution the consumption of goods opened to the rest of society; and the professional world of clothing concentrated in the city and oriented its production toward the new emerging

consumer categories in diversifying its activities ( from confection to haute couture). Finally fashion production was based on a competition between creators since it is the diversity of its products that drive its dynamic. As a result this professional world to assert its specificity needed a spatial promiscuity since communication system were not enough develop to allow a fashion creation spread out among several regional centers.

As such the information process became preeminent for the diffusion of fashion. It was determinant in the sphere of creation of haute couture since fashion designer had to be aware of each other production in order to cultivate their difference. It was determinant in the sphere of confection since this part of clothing was based on the copying of fashion designer creation. it was determinant in the sphere of the consumer since this one has to be maintain excited by the novelty of fashion products- i.e. the periodical clothing collection rationalized the change.

In addition fashion as an industry is defined by its method of distribution rather than by its method of production. that is to say the fashion pionnered in the use of advertising. Not only fashion used press ( e.g, fashion magazine) but also the city as a support for its diffusion. In the context of the city fashion used simultaneously the body of the individual ( e.g.

appearance of the body) and the architecture structure (e.g. the facade of department stores) to propagate.

As a result fashion institutionalized the process of change to maintain its leading position in creation. The criteria of new or novelty became the central resource justifying the fashion industry. Fashion accelerated the process of change and obsolescence of forms. In turn it developed a social demand based on desire, seduction and pleasure; the consumer became a participant in the dynamic of fashion since fashion consumption developed through imitation of inner needs (Tarde) rather than just buying and wearing similar clothes.

Spatially fashion points out group belonging (e.g. parisian society) and promiscuity since fashion had a use particularly in public gathering spaces where people where people speak together even if it was just to exchanging banality - cafe, parc, ballroom, restaurant, department store, salon...) fashion as a personal media reinvest traditional cultural form of the culture that are based on oral communication- see Zola's Au Bonheur des Dames when woman meet in the salon of one of them to discuss of their shopping-

The influence of fashion on the city is illustrated through the increasing importance of the visual appearance and individual representation in substitution to other way of

feeling and approaching the urban environment. fashion greatly altered the approach of the city since this one became considered as a spectacle and a performance in correlation with the spreading of leisure activities . In a way fashion distribution materialized the relationship between leisure society and urbanization process since commercial practices became integrated in leisure activities as a form of fantasy. As a result public spaces merged with consumption and leisure activities .

As a result fashion industry is based on economic and aesthetic; fashion is an activity that is based on economic objectives in a profit perspective , it is a material production. but also it is an aesthetic because the fashion designer rules the taste , the style , it is an artistic production. Fashion calls into question the division economy and culture, in a way it spiritualizes the economic sphere.

During 19th century fashion did not invest all sectors of society for instance G.Simmel restricted fashion to the realm of appearance; G.Simmel wrote:

the power of the moving form upon which fashion lives is not strong enough to subject every fact uniformly. Even in the fields governed by fashion, all forms are not equally suited to become fashion...This may be compared with the unequal relation that the objects of external perception bear to the possibility of their being transformed into work of art.

G.Simmel marks the difference between the subjects that are likable to be part of the art realm and the one that are part of the fashion one. but as fashion in fact invested urban life style it permeated every form of visual expression . Notably the notion of fashion as an art rather than a clothing production has since the 19th century gained in importance since it refers to emotions and ephemeral experiences.

This means that the past is no longer the form that rules the social life as already suggested by Baudelaire for the art:

The past is interesting, not only because of the beauty that the artists for whom it was the present were able to extract from it, but also as past, for its historical value. the same applies to the present. The pleasure we is due, not only to the beauty it can be clothed in, but also to its essential quality of being the present. the pleasure we derive from the representation of the present is due , not only to the beauty it can be closed in, but also to its essential quality of being the present.

fashion conveyed everyday life meaning and the the layman or consumer could as much as the professional relate to this art form.

G. DeTarde describes fashion as a general form of imitation affecting the society and limited to its necessary alternance with custom to which it is distinct. For G.TArde in last place costum rules the society, Fashion for him is a form that emerges when the social underlying structures are altered by dramatic change as for instance the industrial phenomenon during the 19th

century.

...L'imitation ,d'abord coutume, puis mode, redevient coutume, mais sous un forme singulièrement agrandie et précisément inverse de la première. En effet, la coutume primitive obeit et la coutume finale commande a la génération...

For Tarde the alternation of tradition and fashion is a way to keep a cohesive society. Fashion as an individual representation and communication ensures this social cohesion.

Hence the user who has been evacuated in a first phase from the creation process, as a consumer creates a meaning in sharing a life style that is based more on personal choice rather than external collective judgement . As a result fashion consumption is a communion ( a shared experience in time and space) and a communication ( an information about the person difference). That is to say that fashion does not negate social and art exchange in long term. It is form of social integration based on aesthetic.

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